

## Message Text

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EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, PFOR, SG

SUBJ: CSCE: POSITIONS OF ALLIES -- PART 9 - THE NETHERLANDS

1. IN RESPONSE TO DEPARTMENT'S REQUEST, WE TRANSMIT BELOW OUR CURRENT ESTIMATE OF PARTICULAR CONCERNS WHICH THE NETHERLANDS HAS IN CSCE. WE HAVE NOT REPEAT NOT ATTEMPTED TO ELABORATE ON SUBJECTS WHICH ARE OF GENERAL CONCERN TO ALL OR MOST NATO ALLIES, AND OF WHICH THE DEPARTMENT IS AWARE.

2. DUTCH POLITICAL SCENE -- THE DUTCH HAVE REPEATEDLY INSISTED THAT PUBLIC OPINION AND POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS IN THE NETHERLANDS ARE MAJOR FACTORS IN THEIR APPROACH TO CSCE, AND HAVE SUGGESTED THAT MEANINGFUL CONFERENCE RESULTS, EXPECIALLY IN THE MILITARY AND BASKET III AREAS, WOULD BE NECESSARY TO SATISFY THE INTEREST OF THE DUTCH PUBLIC IN CSCE. A MEASURE OF THIS INTEREST IS THE FACT THAT DUTCH FOREIGN MINISTER VAN DER STOEL HAS MADE SEVERAL STATEMENTS ON CSCE TO HIS PARLIAMENT. WHILE THE DUTCH DELEGATION HERE IS PLAYING A MORE CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE THAN LAST YEAR (THEIR DELEGATION HEAD HAS BEEN CHANGED), WE WOULD EXPECT THEM TO CONTINUE TO SHOW RELUCTANCE TO COMPROMISE ON ISSUES THEY CONSIDER IMPORTANT BECAUSE OF DOMESTIC POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS.

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3. PRINCIPLES --

(A) GENERAL -- THE NETHERLANDS SHARES GENERAL ALLIED GOALS OF PROTECTION OF WESTERN POSITIONS OF PRINCIPLE, ESPECIALLY IN RELATION TO GERMANY AND BERLIN, AND ATTENUATION OF THE BREZHNEV DOCTRINE.

(B) BREZHNEV DOCTRINE -- THE NETHERLANDS HAS BEEN AMONG THE STRONGEST SUPPORTERS OF ANTI-BREZHNEV DOCTRINE LANGUAGE. THE DUTCH HAVE SUGGESTED A REVISION OF THE BONN GROUP'S FOUR-POWER-RIGHTS DISCLAIMER WHICH WOULD SERVE TO UNDERCUT THE BREZHNEV DOCTRINE, ALTHOUGH THEY HAVE NOT PRESSED THIS ISSUE SINCE BEING DISCOURAGED BY BONN GROUP DELEGATIONS HAERE.

(C) SELF-DETERMINATION PRINCIPLE -- DUTCH HAVE PROPOSED THAT THIS TEXT SHOULD AFFIRM RIGHTS OF PARTICIPANTS "TO CHANGE THEIR INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL POLITICAL STATUS." THIS HAS LED TO SHARP EXCHANGES IN PRINCIPLES SUBCOMMITTEE, WITH SOVIETS STRENUOUSLY OPPOSING USE OF "CHANGE" IN THIS CONTEXT.

(D) ROMANIAN PROPOSAL -- BECAUSE OF THEIR STRONG INTEREST IN ANTI-BREZHNEV DOCTRINE LANGUAGE, THE DUTCH HAVE ALSO SUPPORTED PROVISIONS OF THE ROMANIAN PROPOSAL FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF THE NON-USE OF FORCE PRINCIPLE WHICH TEND IN THIS DIRECTION. IN PARTICULAR THEY HAVE SUPPORTED THE ROMANIAN PARAGRAPH ON ENTERING OR MAINTAINING TROOPS IN ANOTHER COUNTRY WITHOUT ITS CONSENT.

(E) OPPOSED TO PRIMACY OF PRINCIPLES DECLARATION-- THE NETHERLANDS HAS TAKEN THE LEAD IN ATTACKING THE SOVIET CONCEPT THAT OTHER CONFERENCE DOCUMENTS SHOULD BE SUBORDINATE TO THE PRINCIPLES DECLARATION. TO THIS END THEY TABLED A DRAFT FRAMEWORK FOR THE FINAL CSCE DOCUMENTS, WHICH PUTS PRINCIPLES DECLARATION ON A PAR WITH OTHER DOCUMENTS.

#### 4. MILITARY ASPECTS --

(A) GENERAL -- THE NETHERLANDS SHARES GENERAL OBJECTIVE OF NATO ALLIES TO HAVE SOME MODEST MILITARY CONTENT IN CSCE, IN FORM OF MEANINGFUL AGREEMENT ON CBMS.

(B) MOVEMENTS -- LIKE OTHER ALLIES, THE DUTCH FAVOR A CBM ON MOVEMENTS, BUT ARE RESIGNED THAT THIS IS NOT POSSIBLE, AND HOPE WE CAN AGREE TO A COMPROMISE FORMULATION TO COUNTER THE SOVIET PROPOSAL LINKING THE  
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MOVEMENTS ISSUE TO FOLLOW-UP.

(C) NATURE OF COMMITMENT -- LIKE OTHER ALLIES, DUTCH FAVOR UK FORMULATION FOR NATURE OF COMMITMENT ON CBM'S ("HAVE DECIDED THAT THEY WILL....") AND DO NOT BELIEVE THIS ENTAILS A LEGAL OBLIGATION.

(D) AIR AND NAVAL MANEUVERS -- THE NETHERLANDS FAVORS NOTIFICATION OF INDEPENDENT AIR AND NAVAL MANEUVERS.

5. ECONOMICS -- EC-NINE SPEAK WITH ONE VOICE ON TRADE ISSUES, WHICH COMPRISE THE BULK OF ECONOMIC SUBJECTS IN CSCE. THEIR BASIC OBJECTIVE IS TO LIVERALIZE EASTERN TRADE REGIMES, WHILE RETAINING POSSIBILITIES FOR USE OF PROTECTIVE DEVICES AGAINST POTENTIALLY DAMAGING EASTERN TRADE PRACTICES.

6. BASKET III --

(A) GENERAL -- THE NETHERLANDS SHARES GENERAL ALLIED OBJECTIVE OF OBTAINING SOME MEANINGFUL FREER MOVEMENT PROVISIONS, PARTICULARLY UNDER HEADINGS OF FAMILY REUNIFICATION, MARRIANGE, TRAVEL, AUDIO-VISUAL INFORMATION, AND WORKING CONDITIONS FOR JOURNALISTS. WHILE THERE ARE FEW POINTS OF PARTICULAR INTEREST TO THEM IN BASKET III, THEY HAVE TAKEN A TOUGH ATTITUDE TOWARD NEGOTIATIONS ON VIRTUALLY ALL BASKET III SUBJECTS, AND HAVE GENERALLY BEEN AMONG THE MOST RELUCTANT TO COMPROMISE.

(B) PRIVACY OF CORRESPONDENCE -- THIS DUTCH PROPOSAL WAS COMPLETELY REJECTD MONTHS AGO BY THE SOVIETS, PROVISIONALLY REGISTERED, WITH THE FULL TEXT IN BRACKETS. THERE DOES NOT SEEM MUCH HOPE THAT ANY PART OF THIS TEXT COULD BE REVIVED, BUT IT IS THEORETICALLY POSSIBLE FOR THE DUTCH TO REOPEN THE QUESTION, ON WHICH THE SOVIETS APPARENTLY HAVE NO NEGOTIATING LEEWAY WHATSOEVER.

(C) CONTACTS BETWEEN ATUHORS AND PUBLISHING HOUSES -- DUTCH HAVE SPECIAL INTEREST IN THEIR PORPOSAL DESIGNED TO PROMOTE CONTACTS AND COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN AUTHORS AND PUBLISHING HOUSES (THE SO-CALLED SOLZHENITSYN PROPOSAL). DUTCH HAVE PRESSED VIGOROUSLY FOR ITS INCLUSION AS AN ELEMENT OF WESTERN TEXT ON ACCESS TO CULTURAL SECRET

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ACHIEVEMENTS, AND ARE NOW ENGAGED IN BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE SOVIETS ON THIS TOPIC.

7. TIMING AND LEVEL OF STAGE III -- WITHIN NATO CAUCUS DUTCH HAVE BEEN AMONG MOST OUTSPOKEN IN RECALLING THAT NO COMMITMENT ON TIMING OR LEVEL OF STAGE III SHOULD BE GIVEN UNTIL SATISFACTORY STAGE II RESULTS ARE ASSURED.  
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